

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 13914 01 OF 04 251642Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----054682 251644Z /41

O R 251631Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0918  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 13914

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: TSPA PGOV BQG CG GW UR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET CONCERN RE OTRAG ROCKET TESTING FACILITY

REFS: (A) STATE 200972; (B) STUTTGART 1411;  
(C) STUTTGART 1357; (D) LUBUMBASHI A-9  
(ALL NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY. AS THE SOVIET DEMARCHE ON THE ROCKET  
TESTING FACILITY IN SHABA PROVINCE WAS NOT DELIVERED IN  
BONN UNTIL LATE ON AUGUST 23, THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS NOT  
YET GATHERED ALL THE FACTS NECESSARY FOR A RESPONSE.  
NOR DOES THE FOREIGN OFFICE KNOW UNDER WHICH "INTER-  
NATIONAL AGREEMENTS" THE SOVIETS ARE CLAIMING RIGHTS  
AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IT MAY BE APPROPRIATE TO  
COORDINATE A RESPONSE TO THIS ASPECT OF THE SOVIET  
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DEMARCHE IN THE BONN GROUP. OUR INQUIRIES PRIOR TO  
RECEIPT OF INFORMATION ON THE SOVIET DEMARCHE TEND TO  
SUBSTANTIATE EARLIER INFORMATION THAT OTRAG DOES NOT  
ENJOY FRG GOVERNMENT SUPPORT. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF ON AUGUST 24 INFORMED MEYER-LANDRUT, FOREIGN  
OFFICE DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR SOVIET AND EAST

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, OF DOBRYNIN'S AUGUST 22 DEMARCHE TO THE ACTING SECRETARY AND LEFT WITH HIM A COPY OF THE SOVIET NON-PAPER CONCERNING THE ROCKET TESTING FACILITY OPERATED BY OTRAG IN ZAIRE. EMBOFF STATED THAT WE WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION FROM THE FRG CONCERNING OTRAG WHICH MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO US IN FORMULATING A REPLY TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHE, WHICH WE UNDERSTOOD FROM THE BRITISH AND FRENCH EMBASSIES HAD ALSO BEEN MADE IN LONDON AND PARIS.

2. MEYER-LANDRUT STATED THAT THE SOVIET DEMARCHE HAD BEEN DELIVERED TO POLITICAL DIRECTOR BLECH IN BONN LATE THE PREVIOUS AFTERNOON (AUGUST 23) BY POLITICAL COUNSELOR USYCHENKO. BLECH'S FIRST QUESTION ON READING THE DEMARCHE WAS WHAT INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND. USYCHENKO RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NO SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND THAT HE ASSUMED THAT MOSCOW WAS REFERRING TO A GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NOT TO ANY SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS. MEYER-LANDRUT SAID THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD NOT KNOWN UNTIL EMBOFF'S VISIT THAT THE DEMARCHES HAD ALSO BEEN MADE IN WASHINGTON, LONDON, AND PARIS AND THAT IT THUS HAD NOT FOCUSED ON THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE INVOKING QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

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3. MEYER-LANDRUT SAID BLECH HAD ALSO MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO USYCHENKO:

-- THERE IS NO SECRECY ABOUT THE OTRAG OPERATION.  
IT IS A COMMERCIAL CONTRACT BETWEEN A FIRM AND THE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O R 251631Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BONN 13914

EXDIS

GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE FOR EXPERIMENTATION WITH ORBITAL  
ROCKETS IN AN UNINHABITED REGION. THE ONLY SECRECY  
WHICH MIGHT BE INVOLVED WOULD BE THAT CONCERNING THE  
TECHNOLOGY, AS WOULD BE NORMAL IN COMMERCIAL VENTURES  
OF THIS SORT.

-- THE FRG WILL RESPOND LATER TO THE SOVIET  
DEMARCHE. THE FRG CANNOT HELP NOTING, HOWEVER, OTHER  
RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS AND IN PARTICULAR THE  
ALLEGATIONS, IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEMARCHE ON SOUTH  
AFRICA, OF AN FRG ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THESE SOVIET ALLEGATIONS DO  
NOT SEEM TO LEAD IN THE DIRECTION OF AN IMPROVEMENT OF  
FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS.

-- THE FRG DOES NOT EXPORT MILITARY EQUIPMENT  
OUTSIDE THE NATO REGION AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO AREAS  
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OF TENSION.

4. MEYER-LANDRUT SAID THAT PRELIMINARY THINKING IN THE  
FOREIGN OFFICE WAS THAT THE RESPONSE TO THE SOVIETS  
MIGHT CONSIST OF INFORMING THEM THAT OTRAG HAD PUT OUT  
A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION ON THE  
SHABA ACTIVITY AND THAT THE SOVIETS COULD HAVE RECEIVED  
THIS INFORMATION DIRECTLY FROM THE COMPANY WITHOUT  
MAKING A GOVERNMENTAL DEMARCHE. THERE WAS NO FIRM  
PROPOSAL AS YET, HOWEVER, AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE BILATERAL  
DEMARCHE TO THE THREE ALLIES LED HIM TO BELIEVE THAT  
IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO DISCUSS IN THE BONN  
GROUP HOW BEST TO REPLY TO THE REFERENCE TO QUADRIPARTITE  
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. AT THE MOMENT THE FRG

SEES NO NEED FOR A SPEEDY REPLY, ALTHOUGH THIS ATTITUDE MIGHT CHANGE IF THE SOVIETS SHOULD PUBLISH THEIR DEMARCHE AND ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT IT AT THE LAGOS CONFERENCE.

5. AS FOR THE OTRAG OPERATION ITSELF, MEYER-LANDRUT UNDERTOOK TO OBTAIN AN ANSWER TO OUR QUESTION ON FRG GOVERNMENTAL FINANCING. HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT IT WAS PURELY A PRIVATE COMMERCIAL VENTURE. HE ADDED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE VENTURE WAS

OF INTEREST BECAUSE OF THE COMMERCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TYPE OF ROCKETRY BEING DEVELOPMENT. IN PASSING, HE MENTIONED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD VISITED THE TEST SITE IN MAY.

6. OF SIDE INTEREST IS THE REASON FOR THE DELAY IN  
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DELIVERY OF THE SOVIET DEMARCHE IN BONN. ACCORDING TO MEYER-LANDRUT, AMBASSADOR FALIN HAD GONE TO BERLIN WITHOUT INFORMING THE FRG OR, APPARENTLY, MOSCOW. THE SOVIET DCM WAS ALSO ABSENT. WHEN THE INSTRUCTION CAME FOR FALIN TO DELIVER THE DEMARCHE TO FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE EMBARRASSMENT. USYCHENKO ASKED TO SEE STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL, BUT BECAUSE HE HAD NOT BEEN DESIGNATED AS CHARGE THE FRG DECIDED TO RECEIVE HIM AT THE BLECH LEVEL.

7. COMMENT. EMBOFF DID NOT PROBE ON MEYER-LANDRUT'S REFERENCE TO GENSCHER'S HAVING VISITED THE OTRAG SITE. AS LUBUMBASHI NOTED IN REF (D), GENSCHER'S VISIT TO SHABA ON MAY 17 COINCIDED WITH THE FIRST LAUNCHING FROM THE OTRAG SITE, BUT WE DO NOT RECALL A REFERENCE IN ANY OF THE RATHER EXTENSIVE PRESS REPORTING ON GENSCHER'S ZAIRE TRIP TO HIS HAVING VISITED THE SITE. NOR WAS ANY REFERENCE TO THIS MADE IN THE BRIEFINGS WE RECEIVED ON GENSCHER'S VISIT (BONN 9307).

8. PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REF (D), EMBOFFS, ON THE BASIS OF STUTTGART'S REPORTING, HAD DISCUSSED THE OTRAG PROJECT WITH THE CHIEF OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY OFFICE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND HAD ASKED SPECIFICALLY ABOUT FINANCING. WE WERE TOLD THAT THERE WAS NO GOVERNMENTAL MONEY INVOLVED AND, INDEED, SO FAR NO FINANCING FROM LARGE-SCALE GERMAN INTERESTS. RATHER, OTRAG DERIVED ITS FUNDS FROM MEDIUM AND SMALL INVESTORS. THIS WOULD SEEM TO CONFIRM PREVIOUS INFORMATION ON

THIS SCORE, BUT WE WILL EXPECT A DEFINITIVE REPLY IN  
RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION PUT TO MEYER-LANDRUT.

9. EXAMINATION OF POSSIBLE LEGAL ASPECTS OF SOVIET  
DEMARCHES HAS LED US TO THE OCTOBER 23, 1954, PARIS  
PROTOCOLS AMENDING THE 1948 BRUSSELS TREATY AND  
ESTABLISHING THE WEU, SPECIFICALLY PROTOCOL NO. III ON  
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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----054791 251649Z /50

O R 251631Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0920  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BONN 13914

EXDIS

CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS SIGNED BY SEVEN STATES INCLUDING  
THE FRG. IN IT, THE CONTRACTING PARTIES NOTED AND  
RECORDED THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE DECLARATION OF  
CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IN LONDON ON OCTOBER 3, 1954, WHICH  
WAS ANNEXED TO THE PROTOCOL. IN ADDITION TO ITS  
UNDERTAKING BY THAT DECLARATION NOT TO MANUFACTURE IN  
ITS TERRITORY ATOMIC, CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS,

THE FRG UNDERTOOK NOT TO MANUFACTURE IN ITS TERRITORY WEAPONS AS DETAILED IN ANNEX III TO THE DECLARATION. ANNEX III PROVIDES DEFINITION OF LONG-RANGE AND GUIDED MISSILES, BUT IS PRECEDED BY THE STATEMENT THAT: "ALL APPARATUS, PARTS, EQUIPMENT, INSTALLATIONS, SUBSTANCES AND ORGANISMS, WHICH ARE USED FOR CIVILIAN PURPOSES OR FOR SCIENTIFIC, MEDICAL AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH IN THE FIELDS OF PURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE SHALL BE EXCLUDED FROM THIS DEFINITION."

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10. THAT THIS MAY UNDERLIE THE SOVIET DEMARCHE TO THE THREE ALLIES APPEARS BORNE OUT BY THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET NON-PAPER ADDRESSES AN "ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE FRG TO CREATE BEYOND ITS BORDERS, IN CIRCUMVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN FORCE, A BASE...", SUGGESTING THAT THE CIRCUMVENTION LIES IN THE PRODUCTION OF THESE ITEMS OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY OF THE FRG. THE ABSENCE OF A SOVIET CLAIM TO BE A DIRECT BENEFICIARY OF "INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN FORCE" SUGGESTS, AS IS THE CASE WITH THE ABOVE PROTOCOLS, THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT A PARTY TO THE AGREEMENTS TO WHICH THEY SO VAGUELY REFER.

11. THE REFERENCE IN THE SOVIET NON-PAPER TO SHARED QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND IN THE DEMARCHE TO THE FRG TO "ITS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES" MAY BE TO THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT. THAT TRIpartite (US, UK, USSR) AGREEMENT, IN PARA 3 (ON THE PURPOSE OF THE OCCUPATION OF GERMANY BY THE US, UK, USSR AND FRANCE) OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY "IN THE INITIAL CONTROL PERIOD" PROVIDES FOR: "THE COMPLETE DISARMAMENT AND DEMILITARIZATION OF GERMANY AND THE ELIMINATION OF CONTROL OF ALL GERMAN INDUSTRY THAT - THAT COULD BE USED FOR MILITARY PRODUCTION." THE UK EMBASSY LEGAL ADVISOR SHARES OUR VIEW THAT THAT PROVISION IS ESSENTIALLY SPENT, BY REASON OF ITS HEADING AS WELL AS THE REPORT, FOR EXAMPLE, OF THE US

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----054916 251710Z /41

O R 251642Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0921  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BONN 13914

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MILITARY GOVERNOR FOR THE SECOND HALF OF 1947 STATING THAT IN THE US ZONE THE DISARMAMENT AND DEMILITARIZATION WERE ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE, AND, OF COURSE, NUMEROUS SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. WE ARE NOT CERTAIN WHETHER THE USSR MAY HAVE DEVELOPED A THEORY THAT THIS PROVISION OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT REMAINS ENTIRELY OR PARTLY IN FORCE. (SEE PARA 3 OF THE SOVIET DRAFT OF A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY OF MARCH 10, 1952: "... AS APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS OF THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE STILL REMAIN UNFILLED.")

12. WE HAVE NOT FOUND ANY OTHER DOCUMENT SO FAR THAT WOULD GIVE THE USSR A BASIS FOR ITS ASSERTED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. POSSIBLY THEIR FORMULATIONS ARE MERELY A GENERAL REFERENCE TO SOME FORM OF RESERVED RIGHTS BASED ON THE STATUS OF THE US, UK, FRANCE AND THE USSR AS FORMER OCCUPYING POWERS AND THE ABSENCE OF  
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A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY. THE VAGUE FORMULATION, "THE KNOWN INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS," MAY BEAR THIS OUT. IN ANY CASE, BEFORE RESPONDING TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHE WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO COMPARE NOTES, PROBABLY IN THE BONN GROUP, ON HOW TO TREAT THE CLAIM OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS IN THE MATTER.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**TAGS:** TSPA, PGOV, CG, GE, UR, BQG  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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